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Suggestions are offered for teaching languages during the transitional period from the audiolingual level to the reading and writing proficiency level. The importance of developing listening comprehension is stressed, and it is suggested that traditional grammar and translation methods be integrated into the language program. Special attention is focused on (1) structure control, (2) vocabulary control, (3) an awareness of varying cultural concepts, and (4) recognizing cultural emphasis. Examples in French illustrate these four points. Association of linguistic form with concept is discussed in its relation to comprehension. (DS)

THE PLATEAU; OR THE CASE FOR COMPREHENSION: THE "CONCEPT" APPROACH

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The Plateau; or the Case for Comprehension: the "Concept" Approach

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THERE has been a considerable amount of research in foreign language teaching since the passage of the National Education Act of 1958.[1] Much of the research undertaken thus far has been concerned with current practices in teaching based on the audio-lingual method and/or the grammar-translation method. Despite evidence and counter evidence in favor of one method or the other, the total effort made to improve foreign language learning has produced favorable results. In fact, one might say that the state of foreign language learning has never been so good. Yet few can deny that there is still room left for improvement.

The issue is not—as most teachers think—whether the audio-lingual approach or the grammar-translation approach is the better method. Both approaches will successfully bring the foreign language student to where he is now: on top of a plateau! The real issue is whether or not current teaching practices, and the theories they imply, can help the student climb the road to language proficiency. The grammatical principles underlying the pattern drills of any commercial audio-lingual textbook are based on the same grammatical principles utilized in the grammar-translation method. We are still using the same familiar traditional materials. The major difference is that they are now set to sound.

Lest my introductory remarks in the first paragraph be interpreted as a back-handed compliment, I should like to state that my intention is not to replace existing teaching procedures but to supplement them. I maintain that under present conditions, any grammar-translation or audio-lingual program will potentially permit a student to nucleate; i.e., to establish a foundation in listening, speaking, reading, and writing the foreign language.[2]

For many foreign language programs, nucleation is the sole or primary aim. Most commercial textbooks are designed for this kind of language learning. Material presented on the elementary level is for the most part reviewed on the intermediate level. As a result language learning on the intermediate level is primarily concerned with reteaching what we failed to teach on the elementary level. The entire methodology is geared to building a foundation. However, any foundation, be it firm or shaky, is little more than a plateau. It must be emphasized that nucleation is a necessary—but not a sufficient—condition for developing proficiency in the foreign language.

If real proficiency is the primary aim of a foreign language program, then the field of operations will have to be correspondingly enlarged. This need not necessarily result in a different teaching methodology, but it will directly affect the "kind and amount" of language taught. In other words, I am saying that under current teaching practices the materials utilized make little provision for language acquisition beyond the nucleation stage.

Grammar-translation materials contain only a fraction of the rules which are needed for

[1] For a critique of past and present instructional procedures, see John B. Carroll. "Research on Teaching Foreign Languages," in N. L. Gage, editor, *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963; and "Research in Foreign Language Teaching: The Last Five Years," in Robert G. Mead, Jr., editor, *Language Teaching: Broader Contexts, Reports of the Working Committees, 1966 Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages*, pp. 12–42.

[2] "In the pre-nucleation stage, the student is concerned with storing, or internalizing, three kinds of patterns: (1) one representing the sound structure, (2) another involving a portion of the syntactic structure, and (3) a third—called sandhi variation—arising from the accidental co-occurrence of certain sounds making up the elements of syntactic constructions." Simon Belasco, "Nucleation and the Audio-Lingual Approach, "*The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. XLIX, No. 8 (December, 1965), p. 485. Internalization of both predictable and non-predictable (non-automatic) morphophonemic structure is subsumed under nucleation.

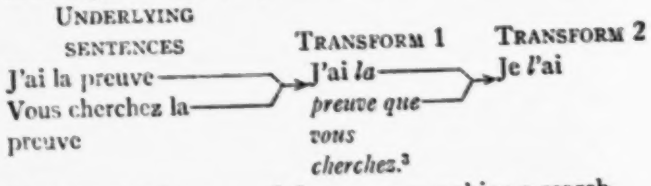
recognizing or producing the infinite number of grammatical sentences of the foreign language. They do not even provide for the finite number of sentences found in reading selections beyond the elementary level.

Students learn to read not because of the materials, but in spite of them. We might even raise the question as to whether the student is ever "taught" to read at all. Students assigned reading passages are for the most part left to their own devices. Provided with a vocabulary list or a dictionary, they resort to the "hunt and pick" method, which is closer akin to puzzle solving than reading. Even so-called graded readers do not take the student very far beyond the nucleation stage. There are at least four factors involved in acquiring proficiency in reading and listening comprehension: (1) *control of the structure;* (2) *control of the vocabulary;* (3) *awareness of differences of cultural concept;* (4) *awareness of differences of cultural emphasis.* All four factors are more or less interrelated, and each directly affects meaning. We might examine each of these factors in succession.

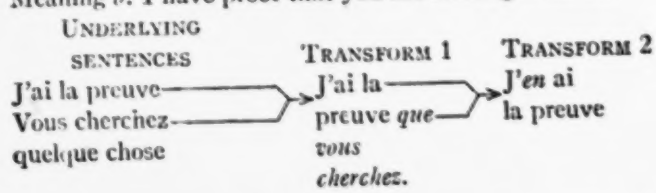
With respect to structure, most foreign language materials in use treat the "surface" structure and neglect the "deep" structure of the grammar. A superficial examination of any intermediate reader shows this to be true. For example, take the sentence: (1) *J'ai la preuve que vous cherchez.* On the surface this sentence is ambiguous in at least two ways. It can mean (*a*) "I have the proof that you are searching for," or (*b*) "I have proof that you are making a search." The deep structure will actually show that two sentences underlie the sentence with each of these meanings. However, these underlying sentences are not the same. With meaning *a* the underlying sentences are: *J'ai la preuve* and *vous cherchez la preuve.* With meaning *b* the underlying sentences are: *J'ai la preuve* and *vous cherchez quelque chose* (*d'autre*). Moreover with meaning *a*, the entire segment la *preuve que vous cherchez* may be replaced by the direct object *l'* (*la*): *Je l'ai.* With meaning *b* the segment *que vous cherchez* may be replaced by *en*, the noun phrase la *preuve* remaining unchanged: *J'en ai la preuve.* These relationships may be represented schematically as follows:

(1) *J'ai la preuve que vous cherchez*

Meaning *a:* I have the proof that you are searching for.



Meaning *b:* I have proof that you are making a search.



It will be noted that with meaning *a* but not with meaning *b* the segment *que vous cherchez* is a dependent relative clause having as its antecedent the noun phrase *la preuve.* However grammars neglect to treat the structure of a dependent clause such as *que vous cherchez* with meaning *b.*

Compare also the structural differences between the dependent clauses in such sentences as (2) *Je crains que vous* (*ne*) *cherchiez la preuve* versus (3) *J'ai peur que vous* (*ne*) *cherchiez la preuve* on the one hand, and (4) Je *regrette que vous cherchiez la preuve* versus (5) *Je suis fâché que vous cherchiez la preuve* on the other. In sentences 2 and 4, the segment *que vous cherchiez la preuve* is a dependent noun clause functioning as direct object (*Je le crains* and *Je le regrette*). In sentences 3 and 5 the segment does not function as a direct object and should be termed a "qualifying clause" since it properly modifies the structure of complementation *ai peur* and *suis fâché* (*J'en ai peur* and *j'en suis fâché*).[4]

The same kind of qualifying relationship involving verb plus noun, and *être* plus adjective or noun can be extended to prepositional phrases. For example, the sentence (6) *Il est avide de la gloire* is also structurally ambiguous. Either the entire segment *avide de la gloire* may be replaced by the pronoun *l'*(*il l'est*), in which case the prepositional phrase *de la gloire* is a

[3] Certain formal details concerning the conditions of analysability as well as elementary transformation operations are omitted here for the sake of simplicity.

[4] For other types of qualifying clauses, see Simon Belasco, "Les structures grammaticales orales," *Le Français dans le Monde,* Vol. VI, No. 41 (June, 1966), p. 42.

modifier of *avide*, or *de la gloire* may be replaced by *en* (*Il en est avide*), in which case the prepositional phrase modifies the structure of complementation *est avide*.

Other structures of complementation may be treated in the same fashion, e.g., (7) *Il est l'auteur de ce livre* (*il l'est, il en est l'auteur*), (8) *Je connais l'auteur de ce livre* (*je le connais, j'en connais l'auteur*), (9) *Il a le don de plaire* (*il l'a, il en a le don*), and the like.

However, not every noun phrase plus prepositional phrase may be replaced by a pronoun, nor every prepositional phrase by *en*. Thus for (10) *L'auteur de ce livre est célèbre* there may be *Il est célèbre* and *l'auteur en est célèbre* but for (11) *Le Président de la République est célèbre*, there may be *il est célèbre* but not **Le Président en est célèbre*. On the other hand, for (12) *Il a l'air d'un mendiant* there may be: *Il en a l'air*, but not **il l'a*. Moreover, for (13) *L'auteur de ce livre est avide de la gloire* all substitutions mentioned thus far may be made: *Il est avide, il en est avide, il l'est* and even such an ambiguous surface structure as *l'auteur en est avide*, where *en* may replace *de ce livre* or *de la gloire*. Note that we have not mentioned the most common function of *en* as an adverbial pronoun (*il revient de Paris, il en revient*). Nor shall we take time to mention the various functions of *dont* as a relative pronoun or as a noun modifier. The point we are making is that at the present time many gaps and gross inconsistencies exist in treating even the most elementary of traditional grammatical principles.

Neither do the basic vocabulary list nor graded reading-listening materials provide the amount of exposure or lexical saturation necessary to insure adequate vocabulary control. Both teacher and student alike are aware of the pitfalls of the "hunt and pick" method. Selecting one of several meanings from a dictionary or vocabulary list for a given context not only wastes time but fails to guarantee comprehension.

To illustrate, let us examine a typical paragraph from a contemporary novel.[5]

"Parce que je les renvoie dos à dos, Lachaume et Dubreuilh; il n'a pas volé ce qui lui arrive; ça lui apprendra à miser sur les deux tableaux. Si c'est un intellectuel, alors qu'il ne sacrifie pas à la politique les vertus de l'intellectuel; s'il les considère comme un luxe inutile, qu'il prévienne et pour ce qui est de la pensée libre, on ira s'adresser ailleurs."

Sentence by sentence or word by word, neither the structure nor the vocabulary appear to be particularly difficult for an intermediate student. Perhaps the only unfamiliar word in the entire paragraph might be *miser*. Nevertheless most intermediate and even advanced students have to hunt and pick this passage apart in order to get at the meaning. If he is working with a good unabridged dictionary, the student will have to do some serious searching before he can come up with the equivalent translation for such sentences as: *Je les renvoie dos à dos, il n'a pas volé ce qui lui arrive*, and *ça lui apprendra à miser sur les deux tableaux*. Moreover, if he is not aware of the structural—let alone semantic—relationship between *si c'est . . . alors qu'il . . .* ; *s'il les considère . . . qu'il prévienne . . .* ; *pour ce qui est de . . . on ira s'adresser . . .*, then the dictionary will be of little help to him. Even if he uses a school edition, and all of the idioms and patterns are treated in the explanatory notes, then for a passage such as the one under consideration, he will be spending more time with the notes than with the text. It could be far less time consuming and far more instructive to place the French text on the right hand page and the equivalent English translation on the left hand page. In fact this is exactly what I am advocating.

With this statement, I am not opting for the grammar-translation method. What I am doing is assigning a role to translation in the post-nucleation stage. The role of translation in language learning has yet to be determined experimentally. Its deliberate suppression from the guage learning situation has no scientific basis.

Note that I am even making a departure from the usual procedure with bilingual texts. It is customary to read the foreign language first, then the English equivalent as difficulty is encountered. I have found the opposite to be

[5] Simone de Beauvoir, *Les Mandarins*, Paris: Gallimard, 1954, p. 259. The English translation of this passage is quoted further on and is taken from the translation by Leonard M. Friedman, *The Mandarins: A Novel by Simone de Beauvoir*, Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1956, p. 280.

true. By first reading short sections in English, then referring to the foreign language, the idiomatic expressions and structural relations stand out in bold relief.

Because I tell them both off,	*Parce que je les renvoie dos à dos,*
Lachaume and Dubreuilh;	*Lachaume et Dubreuilh;*
he damned well deserves	*Il n'a pas volé*
what he's getting;	*ce qui lui arrive;*
it'll teach him	*ça lui apprendra*
not to play both sides.	*à miser sur les deux tableaux.*
If he's an intellectual,	*Si c'est un intellectuel,*
then he shouldn't sacrifice	*alors qu'il ne sacrifie pas*
intellectual virtues to politics;	*à la politique les vertus de l'intellectuel;*
if he considers them	*s'il les considère*
as a useless luxury,	*comme un luxe inutile,*
let him say so	*qu'il prévienne*
and when it comes to thinking independently,	*et pour ce qui est de la pensée libre,*
we'll knock on somebody else's door.	*on ira s'adresser ailleurs.*

I am not claiming that this procedure represents true reading. I claim that this is a good pedagogical device for teaching reading in the post-nucleation stage. It is crucial for the student to associate the correct cultural concept with the linguistic form in the foreign language. The student comes to the language learning situation with a set of already acquired concepts. He discovers that concepts in both languages are nearly equivalent or partially equivalent. However, it is not uncommon for a concept in one language to be virtually non-existent in the other language. Every linguistic form in a given reading selection presupposes the existence of a definite concept which can be controlled by the native speaker. The more familiar the concept in a given context, the less the reader need depend upon the linguistic form. If this is true for the student's native tongue, it is certainly true for the foreign language.

In reading, the correct association can be established between linguistic form and cultural concept even when the linguistic form is greatly distorted. We might borrow an example from English, which for our purpose represents the necessary association condition between form and concept. Native speakers will vary as to the amount of time required to identify the following written form as an English sentence:

T-- c-- j----d o--- t-- m--n.

Some native speakers will require additional visual cues, e.g., c-w, j--p-d, etc. before they can fully identify the sentence. This demonstrates that the amount of redundancy, i.e., context necessary for reading comprehension, varies with the individual even when the concept is a familiar one. The possibility of a non-native speaker's identification of the form as "The cow jumped over the moon" is practically nil, since there is little likelihood of his ever having come in contact with English nursery rhymes. The important point being made here is that if the concept is familiar, it is possible to determine the meaning of a written linguistic form even when this form is not complete, i.e., not in an ideal state. Before real reading can be achieved, however, there must be first an awareness of the concept, and second *that a given linguistic form is to be associated with the concept.* Comprehension, i.e., meaning, is impossible without the association of concept with form.

If the student has mastered the linguistic fundamentals there is no great danger in presenting English (the precise concept) first, so that the student may make a direct association with the French (the linguistic form). Comprehension improves in direct ratio to the amount of time spent in such contrived reading.

A by-product of this procedure (which subsequently turns out to be a follow-up exercise) is the easy transition from contrived reading to silent "lightening translation." The students look at the English, then silently attempt a rapid translation into French, the accuracy of which is easily confirmed by an immediate check with the French equivalent on the right hand page.

Lightening translation differs considerably from word-to-word translation. It results from internalizing structural sets, and sets of idiomatic expressions, and is a consequence of well organized "concept-form association." Some learners develop the art of lightening translation to a very high degree; so much so that when the student carries it over into the speaking situation, native speakers often mistake this for fluency. Although lightening translation under these circumstances is "fabricated speaking," it easily becomes coordinated speaking in a real cultural setting.

The more different the concept, the more de-

pendent the student becomes on explanatory notes in the source language. For example, the fact that cars are parked in France on the right hand side of the street on even numbered days and on the left hand side on odd numbered days is a different concept in parking. In a reading selection this fact might require a short explanation. When a concept such as *Zone Bleue, Disque Obligatoire* is introduced, then the notes get correspondingly longer. The driver of a car parked in the blue zone in France is required to have a parking disk, which he obtains usually free of charge at a tobacco shop. This disk is in the form of the face of a clock and contains two slots. The disk is placed behind the windshield and rotated to the first slot at the precise time the driver leaves the parking area. The second slot automatically indicates when the parking privilege expires. The time allowed for parking is usually two hours. If the disk is set for 2:00 p.m. and the driver returns at—let us say—4:05 p.m., he is technically liable for a fine. This is France's humanitarian answer to the concept of the parking meter. Such a concept requires supplementary information. However, the English-to-French reading exercise reduces explanations to a bare minimum.

Closely allied to differences in concept is the notion of "differences in emphasis" of equivalent cultural concepts. Such differences in emphasis contribute to faulty comprehension. A student might control every structure and know the meaning of every word in a reading selection without understanding the selection. For example take the simple sentences:—"*Tu veux que je te fasse le grand jeu? ou préfères-tu le marc de café?*"[6] Even when stated in their exact context the sentences are not understood by advanced students of French. Unfamiliarity with the exact nature of the concept results in the incomprehensible translation: "Do you want me to make the big play for you? Or would you prefer coffee-grounds?" Although the concept of telling one's fortune exists in both French and English, the Frenchman places the emphasis on the hand-waving and the abracadabra; the American's attention is drawn to the crystal ball. Thus in a given situation an American might say: "Shall I look into my crystal ball? Or would you rather have me read tea leaves?" The fact that the Frenchman looks at coffee grounds instead of tea-leaves is not an idiomatic feature but a cultural non-equivalence. The concept of telling fortunes by looking into a cup, however, exists in both languages. Note that an explanation in the foreign language alone using the expression *dire la bonne aventure* does not take into consideration the differences in cultural emphasis made in the two languages.

Reading passages normally occur in an ideal form. Once a word or sentence appears in print, there is little room for distortion. This is not true of the listening situation. Uttering letters in elliptical fashion as we did for the written sentence "The cow jumped over the moon" would be utterly incomprehensible.

A student often has difficulty understanding a spoken sentence that he understands quite easily in print. The fault lies in the current emphasis on speaking rather than on listening in audio-lingual training. Any practice in speaking in the initial stages of language learning should be performed in the interest of reinforcing listening comprehension rather than developing proficiency in the speaking skill. This fundamental concept is implicit in the term "audio-lingual." We have shown elsewhere that it is possible to develop acceptable speaking ability without a concomitant development in listening comprehension.[7] Because a student can utter a lot of sentences in a foreign language is no guarantee that he will understand them in the mouth of a native speaker. There is a virtual chasm between the performance of native speakers engaged in conversation and what a student expects a conversation to sound like.

The practical assumption that dialogue memorization and intensive pattern practice will ultimately lead to conversation is as naïve as the "natural assumption" that acquiring a second language should ideally approximate that of a child acquiring a first language. Both assumptions have contributed to the existing plateau in language learning.

The practical assumption is responsible for the design and rationale behind the audio-lingual materials in use in high schools and

[6] S. de Beauvoir, p. 42.

[7] S. Belasco, "Nucleation . . . ," p. 486.

colleges today. Most of the pattern drills treat the surface structure and neglect the deep structure we described earlier. Even where surface structure is treated, there is no attempt made to discriminate between assimilation drills (drills that teach) and testing drills (drills that evaluate language control). Little effort is made to test intellectualization of the deep grammar, i.e., determining different grammatical features by means of transformation drills. For example, a teaching drill might contain a sentence such as (14) *Il entend chanter la dame* as a base, and then will present a cue such as *fait* to produce (15) *Il fait chanter la dame* and then a cue *écoute* to produce (16) *Il écoute chanter la dame.* These sentences and others in the drill contain the same surface structure (subject of finite verb, finite verb, infinitive, subject of infinitive) but not the same deep structure Note that *Il entend chanter la dame* and *il écoute chanter la dame* are respectively transforms of the underlying sentences *Il entend la dame, la dame chante* and *il écoute la dame, la dame chante.* However, *il fait chanter la dame* has the underlying sentence *la dame chante* but not **il fait la dame.*

Moreover, where the finite verb is *entendre,* the subject of the infinitive *la dame* may occur in a transform as the antecedent of a relative clause (*il entend la dame qui chante*) or as subject in a subordinate clause (*il entend que la dame chante*). Where the finite verb is *écouter* the subject of the infinitive may occur in a transform as the antecedent of a relative clause (*il écoute la dame qui chante*), but not as the subject of a subordinate clause (**il écoute que la dame chante*). Thus the surface grammar makes it appear that *entendre, écouter,* and *faire* are mutually interchangeable, but the deep grammar reveals that this substitutability is only superficial and requires that the verbs be subcategorized differently. Further analysis reveals that verbs such as *sentir,* and *voir* distribute themselves like *entendre,* whereas a verb like *regarder* is like *écouter.* Subcategorization of this kind should be intellectually controlled by the student. Control of grammatical principles *comes from the deep grammar found in the reader,* not from a review grammar which is only superficially related to the reading and listening selections. Intellectualization of the grammar can be easily tested by means of transformation drills as follows:

TRANSFORMATION TESTING DRLLS

Principle: Transformation potential of the "subject of the infinitive"

Problem: Transform the sentence on the left so that the subject of the infinitive appears as antecedent of a relative clause and/or subject of a dependent clause.

Note: The responses to the basic sentences are given in parentheses.

1. Elle entend grincer la porte.
   (1a. Elle entend la porte qui grince.)
   (1b. Elle entend que la porte grince.)
2. Je regarde tourner le disque.
   (2. Je regarde le disque qui tourne.)
3. Il écoutait s'approcher l'orage.
   (3. Il écoutait l'orage qui s'approchait.)
4. On voyait tomber les blessés.
   (4a. On voyait les blessés qui tombaient.)
   (4b. On voyait que les blessés tombaient.)
5. Nous emmenons danser les jeunes filles.
   (5. Nous emmenons les jeunes filles qui dansent.)
6. Je sentais tomber des gouttes.
   (6a. Je sentais des gouttes qui tombaient.)
   (6b. Je sentais que des gouttes tombaient.)
7. Ils envoient mourir les blessés.
   (7. Ils envoient les blessés qui meurent.)

The student then is exposed to three types of comprehension training and testing in the post-nucleation stage. One deals with reading, another with listening, and the third with intellectualizing (understanding) grammatical principles. Grammar lessons are based on the reading and listening selections and are tested in the fashion just indicated. Reading is taught by the English-to-French procedure, supplemented by a reference vocabulary and a minimum of explanatory notes in the source language. Testing is done by lightening translation exercises, and questions and answers in French relating to the content of the original reading selection, recast as a different story and containing no new structures or vocabulary. To learn listening, the student hears the original reading selection on tape, referring to the French or English written texts if he encounters difficulty. As these selections are mastered, the student must be exposed to natural speech. He listens to an uncontrived selection involving a conversation between native speakers.

The best source for this is the "Magazine

Sonore Mensuel" entitled *Sonorama*. Unfortunately this series is no longer published. The *Sonorama* Magazine consisted of a small album of about ten records, which appeared monthly and contained on-the-spot newscasts, interviews, conversations with heads of State, songs by popular singers, excerpts from original plays, performances of French night-club comedians; in short, every interesting activity on radio, television, and in the theater in France occurring during the month it was issued. It was not successful with French teachers in the United States primarily because they did not see how it could be adapted to the language program. The *Sonorama* disks are a very effective means of teaching and testing listening comprehension. They allow for self-pacing and self-evaluation. The procedure is to permit the student in an isolated booth to listen to the disk containing a speech, interview, newscast, etc. He spends as much time as necessary in order to take down the entire record in dictation form.

When he goes to the regular class session, he and the other members of the class are asked to read sections of the dictation and write them on the blackboard. Sandhi variation patterns as well as spelling and grammatical mistakes are discussed in detail by the teacher and students. After the dictation has been thoroughly dissected, each student receives the correct mimeographed version of the recording to compare with his own. Six or seven *Sonorama* sessions are enough to make a considerable improvement in a student's listening comprehension. A *Sonorama* dictation used as a terminal examination tells the teacher more about the student's listening ability and control of grammatical features than any battery of tests designed to test language skills in existence today.

It would appear that immersion in *Sonorama* approximates the experience of an individual transported to the foreign country—with the added advantage of supervised instruction. It is no longer necessary to think in terms of a rigid order of presentation of language skills, involving the total language, and requiring tens of thousands of step-incremented drills.[8] The initial learning experience can be step-incremented until nucleation obtains. Thereafter immersion in the concept approach makes language proficiency a plausible reality.

Thus the foreign language experience should be initiated with the audiolingual approach, but not to the exclusion of the written word. Proficiency should be developed by the source-to-target language approach, but not to the exclusion of the spoken word. How soon should the printed version in the foreign language be introduced to the student?

The answer is: *immediately after* the spoken version has been thoroughly understood and can be properly reproduced. If not, the student will make up his own writing system, which will have to be subsequently unlearned.

I am not minimizing the importance of speaking. I am emphasizing the importance of the total language experience. "Speaking" will not guarantee "comprehension," and speaking without comprehension is not conversation.

How soon can English be eliminated from the reading experience? Again the answer is immediately![9] However the "zeroing out" of the source language will be progressive, asymptotic, and will vary with the individual. It can nevertheless be reduced to the point where dependence upon English is negligible.

Every teacher wants his students to climb the road to language proficiency, but few teachers want to go along on the trip. There is a great reluctance to expose oneself to so-called "details" characteristic of a sound pattern-sandhi variation approach in the initial stages of language learning. The greatest deterrent to language acquisition is the inertia, the self-deception that such details are unnecessary. If real conversation is the aim of the audiolingual approach, then the amount of time devoted to audio-comprehension will have to be increased considerably. The shift in emphasis to concept-form association—via reading and listening comprehension—will not only lift teacher and student from the plateau, but can be the most effective contribution that our generation will make to the field of foreign language instruction.

[8] For the ideally programmed course, see Simon Belasco, "Structure Drills and the Refinement Principle," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. XXIX (April, 1963), pp. 19–36.

[9] . . . by looking at the French first from time to time to determine if the French can be *thoroughly* understood without having recourse to the English.